

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 05628 01 OF 02 171601 Z

42

ACTION PM-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 IO-12 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01

RSR-01 /143 W

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O P 171525 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4547

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 5628

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL, PASS TO DEAN AND VEST

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM, GW, UK

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG, UK AND SOVIET PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION
PAPER

REF A. VIENNA 2843 & 3809; B. BONN 5405; C. LONDON 4392

SUMMARY: GERMANS HOPE APRIL 18 NAC SESSION WILL NOT LEAD
TO CONFRONTATION WITH BRITISH, WHO ARE EXPECTED TO
ADOPT NATIONAL POSITION AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL ONLY SHORTLY
BEFORE NAC CONVENES. FRG THUS FAVORS INITIAL EXCHANGE
OF VIEWS AT APRIL 18 NAC AND, IF UK REGISTERS STRONG
DISSENT, DEFERRAL OF ALLIED DISCUSSION UNTIL NEXT WEEK
RATHER THAN PRESSING UK FOR IMMEDIATE AGREEMENT. GERMANS
REAFFIRMED TO US THEIR READINESS TO ACCEPT SOVIET
PROCEDURES PAPER (REF A). END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE REQUEST OF FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH,
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PAGE 02 BONN 05628 01 OF 02 171601 Z

DCM AND EMBOFF CALLED APRIL 17 FOR REVIEW OF CURRENT GERMAN THINKING ON HUNGARIAN ISSUE AND SOVIET PROCEDURES/ PARTICIATION PAPER. FRG VIENNA DEL CHIEF ROTH ALSO WAS PRESENT.

2. RECALLING HIS APRIL 12 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF (REF B), ROTH SAID HE HAD IN THE LAST DAYS BOTH PERSONALLY AND THROUGH THE FRG EMBASSY IN LONDON SOUGHT TO ELICIT THE POSITION THE BRITISH WOULD TAKE ON THE SOVIET PROCEDURES PAPER. IN PARTICULAR ROTH SAID HE HAD ON APRIL 16 RECEIVED BRITISH DCM HIBBERT, WHO TOLD HIM THAT BRITISH POSITION WOULD BE APPROVED BY SIR ALEC DOUGLAS- HOME ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE APRIL 18 NAC MEETING AND THAT JOHN THOMPSON WOULD BE REPRESENTING UK AT NAC IN ABSENCE OF PECK. ROTH ADDED THAT TICKELL WOULD BE IN BONN APRIL 18 FOR THREE HOUR REVIEW OF THE RECENT UK/ US TALKS IN WASHINGTON. WHILE NOT THE MAIN POINT, THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE IS ALSO BOUND TO COME UP AT THIS MEETING.

3. ROTH SAID HE HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION, PARTICULARLY FROM THOMPSON' S STATEMENT TO AD HOC GROUP IN VIENNA (VIENNA 3035), THAT THE MAIN BRITISH CONCERNS WITH THE SOVIET PAPER RELATED TO TACTICS RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE. BRITISH OFFICIALS HAD EMPHASIZED TO THE GERMANS THOMPSON' S POINT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST NOT BEGIN THE MBFR PROCESS BY LOSING. THE BRITISH ALSO HAD MADE MUCH OF THE INABILITY OF THE WEST TO MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THEIR POSITIONS. FINALY, ROTH IMPLIED THAT THE BRITISH HAD FOCUSED ON THE " TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT" CHARACTER OF THE SOVIET PAPER. ROTH ASKED WHETHER THE US COULD ACCEPT THE SOVIET PAPER AND FOR THE US ASSESSMENT OF THE ABOVE POINTS.

4. DCM REPLIED THAT PROCEDURES PAPER OBVIOUSLY DID NOT CORRESPOND TO MAXIMUM WESTERN DESIDERATA, BUT TAKEN AS A WHOLE, THE US FOUND IT AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS AS IT CLEARLY LEFT OPEN THE ISSUE OF HUNGARY' S STATUS IN POSSIBLE FUTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES. IT PROBABLY THEREFORE WAS INACCURATE TO DESCRIBE THIS DOCUMENT AS A " LOSS" FOR EITHER SIDE. ON SECOND POINT, DCM ENDORSED CONCERN OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 05628 01 OF 02 171601 Z

UK AND FRG OVER SECURITY LEAKS. FINALLY, DCM CONFIRMED

UK/ FRG UNDERSTANDING THAT SOVIETS HAD MADE THEIR
ACCEPTANCE OF PARA 9 C CONDITIONAL UPON WESTERN ACCEPTANCE
IN TOTAL OF PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION PAPER. BUT
DCM ADDED THAT ONE COULD UNDERSTAND THIS POSITION SINCE
THE PAPER WAS THE RESULT OF LABORIOUS AND EXTENSIVE
NEGOTIATION.

5. ROTH SAID THE FRG ALSO HAD CERTAIN PROBLEMS WITH THE
SOVIET PAPER, REITERATING THE POINTS REPORTED IN BONN
5257. IN PARTICULAR, ROTH SAID PAPER WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY
IMPROVED IF PARA 3 WERE REMOVED. DCM NOTED THAT
SOVIETS HAD MADE INCLUSION OF PARA 3 INTEGRAL PART OF
THE AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: ROTH'S REVIEW OF THESE FRG
SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO PAPER APPEARED TO BE MERELY FOR
THE RECORD; HE LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THE FRG WOULD SUPPORT
PAPER AS IS. END COMMENT)

6. WHILE READY TO AGREE TO TEXT AS IN REF A, ROTH DID
REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE FRG ATTACHED TO
INCLUDING STATEMENTS (PARAS 9 A & C) IN TEXT OF PAPER.
HE THOUGHT THIS ALSO WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE
BRITISH AS INCLUSION OF THE STATEMENTS AND RIGHT TO USE
THEM PUBLICLY WOULD PERMIT ALLIES TO PUT BEST POSSIBLE
FACE ON COMPROMISE. OTHERWISE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT
THE WEST HAD MERELY GIVEN IN TO SOVIET DEMANDS.

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PAGE 01 BONN 05628 02 OF 02 171607 Z

42

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 5628

7. ROTH THEN INQUIRED AS TO WHETHER US WOULD PUSH FOR APPROVAL OF SOVIET PAPER AT NAC AT APRIL 18 MEETING. DCM REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE ROTH RECALLED THAT HE HAD REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED THE GERMAN WISH TO CONCLUDE VIENNA TALKS ASAP IN ORDER TO GAIN MORE TIME FOR ALLIED DISCUSSIONS OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES BEFORE JUNE MINISTERIAL. BUT THE GERMANS NOW HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE USSR WAS OPERATING UNDER (ALTHOUGH NOT ARTICULATING) A POLICY OF " REVERSE LINKAGE" BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR. IN SHORT IT APPEARED TO BONN THAT MOSCOW WOULD NOT BE READY TO CONCLUDE THE MIT BEFORE CONCLUSION OF CSCE/ MPT AND THUS DEFINITIVE AGREEMENT ON THE DATE FOR THE JUNE CSCE MINISTERIAL.

8. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, TIME PRESSURE TO CONCLUDE MIT BY LATER APRIL WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE EASED SINCE THAT PROBABLY WAS NO LONGER A PRACTICABLE POSSIBILITY. ACCORDINGLY, GIVEN THE LIKELY NEGATIVE BRITISH POSITION AT TOMORROW' S NAC, ROTH BELIEVES IT WOULD BE BEST NOT TO PUSH THE BRITISH TOO HARD IN THE INTERESTS OF ALLIED
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PAGE 02 BONN 05628 02 OF 02 171607 Z

SOLIDARITY. ROTH SAID THE GERMANS THEREFORE INTEND TO TAKE A RATHER RELAXED ATTITUDE AT THE APRIL 18 NAC MEETING AND, IF THE BRITISH INTERPOSE SERIOUS OBJECTIONS, LIMIT THE NAC SESSION TO AN INITIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. AFTER THE EASTER RECESS, AND A FURTHER CHANCE TO WORK ON THE BRITISH BILATERALLY, THE NAC PRESUMABLY COULD APPROVE THE SOVIET PAPER PERHAPS AROUND APRIL 25. BUT ROTH SAID HE WAS AUTHORIZED TO INFORM US THAT IF THE BRITISH PROCRASTINATE UNDULY, THE FRG WILL THROW ITS SUPPORT FULLY BEHIND THE US POSITION.

9. ASKED BY ROTH WHETHER THE US COULD GO ALONG WITH THIS SCENARIO, DCM REITERATED US DESIRE FOR EXPEDITIOUS RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM, SAID WE ALSO WOULD HAVE TO SEE HOW BRITISH REACTED TOMORROW. DCM SAID WE OVIOUSLY WISHED TO HAVE BRITISH JOIN WITH OTHER NAC PARTNERS IN SUPPORT OF APRIL 7 PAPER. EMBOFF CAUTIONED AGAINST UNDUE DELAY, NOTING POSSIBLE DANGER THAT FRAGILE COMPROMISE COULD UNRAVEL IN MOSCOW BUREAUCRACY AND RECALLING ROTH' S OWN POINT THAT BOTH VIENNA NEGOTIATORS AND NAC FACED WITH CONSIDERABLE OTHER MBFR BUSINESS BEFORE JUNE MINISTERIAL. HILLENBRAND

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